

Reagan's Strategic Outlook: And Eventful Days in Moscow

A New Member of Politburo Named by Soviet Leadership

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Nov. 22 — The Communist Party leadership, meeting today for the first time since the election of Yuri V. Andropov as its head, added a new member to the ruling Politburo.

Geddar Alina, 59, a 59-year-old head of the party organization in the Republic of Azerbaijan, on the border with Iran, was promoted from candidate, or nonvoting member, to full membership in the Politburo, bringing it to 12 members.

Mr. Alina had been a career officer in Azerbaijan's secret police, and his appointment as first party secretary in the small southern republic in 1980 initiated a large-scale crackdown against the widespread corruption prevalent there.

Along with Mr. Alina's promotion, the Central Committee confirmed that Andrei P. Kirilenko, the 78-year-old party veteran who once figured as second in precedence behind Leonid I. Brezhnev, had resigned from the Politburo. Tass, the official press agency, said he had left for reasons of health and offered no evidence to support rumors that Mr. Kirilenko had been disgraced.

New Member of Party Secretariat
Mr. Kirilenko was reported in precarious health last spring and is said to have suffered a stroke during the summer. His resignation from the Politburo was effectively confirmed when his portrait failed to appear among those of other members in displays raised for the Nov. 7 national holiday.

Tass also reported that Nikolai I. Ryzhkov, the first deputy chairman of Gosplan, the central state economic planning agency, had been named one of the 10 full-time secretaries of the party. Mr. Ryzhkov, 54, has a background in heavy industry and transport, and is expected to take over responsibilities for these sectors in the influential Secretariat.

The changes announced by the Central Committee involved only Communist Party offices, and the designation of a new President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet — the ceremonial presidency left vacant by Mr. Brezhnev's death — and any ministerial changes were left for the Supreme Soviet session starting Tuesday.

Balance of Power Unchanged

Although the personnel shifts were the first announced under Mr. Andropov's leadership, Western diplomats said that they did not bear his stamp, and had probably been decided on before Mr. Brezhnev's death on Nov. 10.

Mr. Andropov was regarded as a favorite of Mr. Brezhnev's on the last day of his last trip outside Moscow was to the city of Leningrad.

The diplomats concluded that Mr. Andropov had probably concentrated the



Government cars parked outside the headquarters of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow yesterday as the Central Committee met.

energy of his staff during his first days in office on the major economic speech he presented to the Central Committee.

Mr. Andropov's official when Mr. Andropov was named to the Politburo, in any event, did not change the balance of power, and the Azerbaijan chief had been a K.G.B. official when Mr. Andropov headed the security organization, raising the possibility of an early professional acquaintance.

The changes still left more places on the Politburo and in the Secretariat for Mr. Andropov to fill, and Western diplo-

matists suspect he may summon the Central Committee back when he is ready to make his own changes in the top party ranks.

City to Get Brezhnev Name

The final action of the Central Committee today was to adopt a decree "on perpetuation of Leonid Brezhnev's memory." That decree, and the frequent mention of Mr. Brezhnev's name in Mr. Andropov's speech, confirmed that Mr. Brezhnev would be installed firmly in the Soviet historical pantheon.

The decree named a long list of places, factories and schools — ranging from the young industrial city of Naberezhnye Chelny to a secondary school in Dnepropetrovsk, the Ukrainian city where Mr. Brezhnev began party work — that would henceforth bear his name. Naberezhnye Chelny, a city of 300,000, grew up on the Volga River under Mr. Brezhnev's administration as the site of the giant Tass truck plant.

In addition, Tass reported that the name of the "outstanding leader," the "true continuer of Lenin's cause," the

Excerpts From Andropov's Speech to the Soviet Party's Central Committee

MOSCOW, Nov. 22 (AP) — Following are excerpts from a speech by the Soviet Communist Party's first secretary, Yuri V. Andropov, to the party's Central Committee today, as translated and distributed by the Soviet press agency Tass.

The Political Bureau has considered and considers it compulsory, particularly in the present-day international situation, to provide the army and the navy with everything necessary for the draft budget insures the financing of the economy and socio-cultural development.

The chief indicator of the economy's efficiency — labor productivity — grows at a rate that cannot satisfy us. Conditions, both economic and organizational, should be provided to encourage equality and productive work, initiative and enterprise.

A good deal has been said lately about the need to extend the independence of amalgamations, enterprises, collective and state farms. The time seems to have come to tackle this problem in practice. The Communist Party has instructed the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Committee on this score. It is necessary to conduct experiments if need be, to take appraisals and to take account of the experience of other countries.

It is necessary to create a situation in which those who boldly introduce new technology do not find themselves

in a position where they are not supported by the state.

The death of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev caused abroad a lot of conjecture concerning the future of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state in international affairs. Just think how many attempts have been made in recent years to ascribe to the Soviet Union all kinds of sinister intentions, to portray our policy as an aggressive one jeopardizing the security of the world.

The primary concern of our party will continue to be the strengthening of the socialist community. In unity lies our strength.

Ties With Other Nations
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state sincerely wish for the development and improvement of relations with all socialist countries. Mutual good will, respect for each other's legitimate interests and common concern for the interests of socialism and peace should prompt correct solutions also here, where appropriate trust and mutual understanding are still lacking for various reasons.

This also refers to our great neighbor, the People's Republic of China. The ideas formulated by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in his speeches in Tashkent and Beijing, the emphasis he put on common sense, on the need to overcome the inertia of prejudices, expressed the conviction that we should desire to look ahead. We pay great attention to every positive response to this from the Chinese side.

The importance of the group of states that created the nonaligned movement is growing in international life. With many of them the Soviet Union has all-round friendly ties that benefit both sides and make for greater stability in the world. One example of this is the Soviet Union's relations with India. Solidarity with states which have gained freedom from colonial oppression, with the peoples who are upholding their independence, has been and remains one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy.

Since the early days of Soviet power our state has been invariably expressing readiness for open, honest cooperation with all countries that reciprocate these feelings. Differences in the social systems must be no obstacle to this, and they are no obstacle where there is good will on both sides. This borne out convincingly by the marked progress in the development of the Soviet Union's peaceful cooperation with many West European countries.

Policy of Détente

We are deeply convinced that the 70's, characterized by détente, were not — as is asserted today by certain imperialist leaders — a period of party war, but a period of party peace. The policy of détente is by no means a past stage. The future belongs to this policy.

Further on, the new party leader said: "We are deeply convinced that the 70's, characterized by détente, were not — as is asserted today by certain imperialist leaders — a period of party war, but a period of party peace. The policy of détente is by no means a past stage. The future belongs to this policy."

Mr. Andropov, 68 years old, the former head of the Soviet security and intelligence organization, the K.G.B., was appointed to the party leadership two days after Mr. Brezhnev died.

Today Mr. Andropov also spoke at length about the problems of the Soviet economy.

Links Productivity to Earnings

He stressed the need to improve the output of workers by tightening discipline and by linking "productivity" to earnings. He also spoke of the need to eliminate the "unhealthy use of resources," to "place personnel correctly" and encourage "initiative and enterprise" by giving greater independence to industrial enterprises and farms.

Also, he said, there should be an accelerated drive to introduce new technology. "You cannot get things moving by slogans alone," he said.

Queen Mother Hospitalized

LONDON, Nov. 22 (Reuters) — Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother underwent an operation at a hospital early today after a fishbone lodged in her throat at dinner at her home in Windsor. Sunday night, her spokesman said, she said that the Queen Mother, who is 82 years old, was recovering well after the operation to remove the fishbone and would leave the hospital within 48 hours.

tain our defense capability at a proper level. But, as was stressed by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, military rivalry is not our choice. The ideal of socialism is a world without arms.

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Reagan Proposes MX 'Dense Pack' Plan

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the right direction" in the Soviet-American nuclear arms talks.

The President said placement of the "missile was 'absolutely essential' to his goal of modernizing American nuclear forces as well as providing an incentive to the Soviet Union to agree to a reduction in strategic arms."

"Some may question what modernizing our military has to do with peace," Mr. Reagan said.

Speaking from his desk in the Oval office, the White House boss asserted that "a secure force keeps others from threatening us and that keeps the peace."

"And just as important, it also increases the prospects of reaching significant arms reductions with the Soviets, and that is what we really want," the President added. "The United States wants deep cuts in the world's arsenal of weapons."

Mr. Reagan also pledged tonight that the United States would "never use its forces except in response to attack." But he said that only through maintaining a "strong deterrent" of nuclear weapons would the Soviet Union be persuaded not to use its weapons first.

Mr. Reagan's speech tonight was described by several aides as one of his most important foreign policy statements. It came at what several advisers say is a critical time, with many in Congress raising their voices against his military spending plans in general and the MX missile in particular.

'Takes Weapons to Prevent War'

The President also appeared to be aiming his argument to those favoring an immediate Soviet-American nuclear weapons freeze and those — like the Roman Catholic bishops — who have urged that the morality of deploying such weapons even as a deterrent to their use by the Russians.

"Yes, it is sadly ironic that in these modern times it still takes weapons to prevent war," Mr. Reagan said. "I wish it did not. We desire peace, but peace is a goal, not just only through maintaining a 'strong deterrent' of nuclear weapons would the Soviet Union be persuaded not to use its weapons first."

Much of Mr. Reagan's address resembled what he described as a one-sided arms race in which the Russians built up their nuclear forces in several areas "and we have not."

ics with blue lines for the United States and red lines for the Soviet Union, Mr. Reagan sought to show how this was true in several areas.

Cites Number of Weapons

For example, Mr. Reagan showed how military spending by the United States had grown down in the 1970's. "Now follow the red line," the President said as the "Soviet" line moved.

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point" was to be "conscious of the trend more than the stable condition."

Want to Avoid 'Further Erosion'

He said Mr. Reagan's aim was to avoid "further erosion" of the American position. But neither he nor the President tonight used the phrase "window of vulnerability" which Mr. Reagan had said was confronting the United States.

"This term refers to the American contention that the Russians have acquired such powerful land-based missiles with multiple warheads that they could theoretically use a small fraction of their missiles to destroy perhaps 90 percent of American land-based missiles in a 'first strike'."

Mr. Reagan said tonight that the proposed MX missile, newly named the Peacekeeper, was aimed at eliminating this threat.

"If we had not begun to modernize, the Soviet negotiators would know we had nothing to bargain with except the number of tanks, artillery pieces, aircraft and ships."

"If my defense proposals are passed, it will still take five years before we come close to the Soviet level," Mr. Reagan said.

Reviews Reduction Proposals

Mr. Reagan also reviewed his own proposals for nuclear and conventional arms reductions.

In the strategic arms talks, the United States has proposed a reduction in the number of Soviet and American missile warheads from their current level of about 7,500 on each side to 5,000 on each side.

The Russians have countered by seeking a reduction in strategic delivery vehicles — including long-range bombers and long-range ballistic missiles — for each side from the ceiling of 2,250 that was negotiated in the strategic arms limitation treaty to a new common ceiling of 1,800.

That accord was negotiated in 1979 by President Carter but not approved by the Senate. Mr. Reagan has said the treaty was "a serious one, and even though it doesn't meet our objective of deep reductions, there's no question we're heading in the right direction."

At a briefing this evening before Mr. Reagan's speech, a senior Administration official was asked if the Russians were insisting that American nuclear forces were inferior to Soviet forces. "He's not saying that," the official responded, adding that the "key

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